4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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of fish, of insects, and several natural phenomena, especially thunder, have children: that is, they are thought to control "spirits of children" (20). A shaman steals, or more simply, takes spirits of children from these sources and brings them to a woman while she sleeps. Parents who wish children can bring presents to a *pancé* to "make him dream and bring a child to them". Most Tapirapé parents can identify the source of their children and the shaman who brought them. One father explained that he had taken honey to the *pancé* Urukumu, making him dream, and that Urukumu had then traveled to the house of Thunder and brought back a child to his wife. Another gave a present of fish to a shaman who brought back a child from the small fish called piau (*Leporinus* sp.); and yet another gave honey to a *pancé* who brought back a child from the horsefly (Tabanidae).

To the Tapirapé all good and likewise all evil can be laid at the door of the shaman. Consequently a phenomenon such as barrenness is always the fault of the shaman. A barren woman or a man with no children by his wife must have "quarrelled much with the *pancé*". For example, it was clear to Kamairaho that his failure to have children by the three wives with whom he had lived during his lifetime was due to the shaman: "They do not want me to have a child", he said. He had no suspicion concerning his own sterility, even though his present and third wife had had a daughter by her first husband; for according to Tapirapé belief, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are biological fathers of child, and Kamairaho was in this manner the "father" of several children.

The safety of Tapirapé men depends upon the power of their shaman during the period each October and November when they must swim while they fish and shoot turtles; for in this region of Brazil rivers are infested with alligators, sting rays (*Potamotrygon histrix*), and the carnivorous fish called piranha (Serrasalminae). The Tapirapé also believe that large snakes lurk in deep pools of the rivers ready to wrap themselves around men and pull them beneath the water. During the year men will not swim in deep water unless it is absolutely necessary

(20) Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, jacú (*Penelope* sp.), *jakamí* (*Psophia* sp.), fish as called *tukunare* (*Cichla ocellaris*), *pacú* (*Mylinae* sp.), and *piranha* (*Pygocentrus*), and *jakari* (*Prochilodus* sp.), were listed as sources of "spirits of children".

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225 481 756 825 and they will fish only in shallow clear rapids. When they must swim to catch turtles, a shaman guarantees their safety. A powerful shaman dreams. He travels to the river, ties he jaws of the alligators with wires, strikes the *piranha* across their teeth so they cannot bite, and ties up the large snakes into knots with their own tails.

756 825 [769] [103] The abundance of the food supply may also become the responsibility of the shaman. Some powerful shamans have the ability to control the movements and the increase of the bands of pigs. These shamans visit in their dreams the "home of wild pigs" near the Tapirapé River on a hill called by them *Towaiyawá* — Ringed tail of the coati (*Nasua* sp.). There the shaman has sexual intercourse with female pigs, causing large increase in the bands. Those pigs that run fastest and are hardest to kill are these "children of the *pancé*". The [776] shaman's control over the movement of bands of pigs comes through his control over the *ancúnga* called *ampukáya* — "crying spirits". Wild pigs are said to be "pets" of these spirits and follow them about. [224] Shamans who are powerful enough capture these spirits and take them, followed by their pets, to an appointed place where Tapirapé men wait to kill the pigs. None of the living shamans was believed to be capable of these controls over the wild pigs and several of the Indians blamed the recent lack of sucess of hunting expeditions and the apparent scarcity of pigs on the declining power of the shamans.

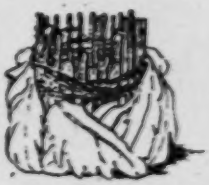
756 787 The dream journeys of the shamans also give them the power of prophecy, as was indicated by Panteri's vision of the fever in the village of the *peropi áwa*. Such dream experiences are not limited to the demonic world but sometimes occur in other earthly regions. The shaman may visit Carajá villages or Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya, where he sometimes learns facts of great interest or importance to his fellow-tribesmen. When Panteri visited the Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya River for the first time, he said that he recognized faces that he saw for he had been to these places many times in his dream. When I returned to the Tapirapé village after three months' absence, one shaman claimed to have prophecied my arrival to the day. He had traveled in his dream, he said, to the Araguaya River and had seen my canoe moving up the Tapirapé River. Another in the same way foresaw the arrival of a young Tapirapé who was returning from se-

/409 cont./

226 still green. The location of the fence is shown in Ill. 7. The fence extends from the lake shore to the sandbank that separates it from the river. Vertical posts are driven in and joined together by a horizontal beam floating on the water. They are supported on either side by diagonal struts. Inside, dense foliage is tied on, which is supposed to prevent the stupefied fish from being carried out (Ill. 267). The posts had been cut nearby in the forest on the southern bank. The water was poisoned with poisonous cipo that lay in quantities on the sandbank and at the rear end of the lake; it had been fetched from the forest at the end of the lake. The Indians apparently do not have boats for traveling on the lake. Serving for this were a few light tree trunks that lay tied together in the lake beside the sandbank. In this way they had caught all kinds of fish, even piraruc<u>ú</u>s, obviously in large quantities, as the large number of grills (26) shows. They also caught turtles and kept them alive. They had built a sort of cage, in the shade of which the turtles were able to survive the hot part of the day (Ill. 268). Sticks about a meter high were stuck in the ground in a circle three-fourths of a meter in diameter, interwoven with leaves, and joined together by cipo winding.

[501]

[225] →



Ill. 268.
Turtle cage.

225

252 The preparation of food seems to be done by boiling and roasting. The fire is transported with large blocks of wood that lay about everywhere. Cooking is obviously done in clay vessels, the shards of which lay scattered around at the first roasting place and beside the paths. Chiefly, however, the yield from the fishing expeditions seems to be roasted, perhaps for stores, for the entire layout of the roasting places and the numerous back-baskets indicated large-scale activity. Roasting was done near the lakes in the forest on large sites on which huge grills were found. These had a triangular or rectangular form, a roasting surface as large as four square meters, and were mounted to the trees of the forest. Often several, with their frames, were joined (see Ill. 269 a-c /see p. 346; Pl. 29 /see p. 18/, Ill. 2). The beams of these racks